VOL. VII. No. 27
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1919

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Suffrage On the Installment Plan
Suffragist: I hope I can pay for it by Fall

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.
ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 ot the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

RATIFICATION BY STATES

1 Wisconsin, June 10, 1919
House Vote 54 to 2
Senate Vote 24 to 1

2 Michigan, June 10, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

3 Kansas, June 16, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

4 Ohio, June 16, 1919
House Vote 73 to 6
Senate Vote 27 to 3

5 New York, June 6, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

6 Illinois, June 17, 1919
House vote 133 to 4
Senate Vote unanimous

7 Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919
House Vote 153 to 44
Senate Vote 32 to 6

8 Massachusetts, June 25, 1919
House Vote 185 to 47
Senate Vote 34 to 5

9 Texas, June 28, 1919
House Vote 96 to 21
Senate Vote Unanimous

10 Iowa, July 2, 1919
House Vote 95 to 5
Senate Vote Unanimous

11 Missouri, July 3, 1919
House Vote 125 to 4
Senate Vote 28 to 3

The Suffragist

JULY 12, 1919 VOL. VII. No. 27

Issued Weekly by National Woman's Party

14 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

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Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3,1879

The Sentiment of the Country

THE eleven states that have already ratified the suffrage amendment contain more than half the population of the country. They include every state with eighteen or more electoral votes, and every large state, in point of population, in the country. This fact is interesting in view of the argument that was so generally brought against federal suffrage when the National Woman's Party first tried to focus the energies of suffragists upon the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Opponents then urged that it was the smaller states, such as Arizona, Nevada, and Wyoming, whose Senators would favor the amendment and force the will of the minority upon the majority.

QUITE to the contrary, it has developed that the people of the United States, by overwhelming vote in their state legislatures, have conclusively endorsed federal suffrage by their support of resolutions to ratify the amendment. Those who have based their opposition upon the principle of majority rule must now admit, in the face of facts, that the adherents of the federal suffrage amendment have proven that they are in the majority.

THERE are twenty states in which women have either full, primary, or presidential suffrage which have not yet met to consider the ratification of the amendment. The Governors of many of them have already expressed their intention of calling special sessions for ratification, and there are well defined demands for such action in all of them. Twelve of them are full suffrage states, seven are states in which women can vote for President, and one, Arkansas, women can vote in all primary elections.

BESIDES these suffrage states, polls of the legislatures in several non-suffrage states, such as Maryland, New Hampshire and Vermont, show a majority of the members in favor of prompt ratification, and the sentiment in these states is so strong as to create an insistent demand for immediate ratification.

IT is thus seen that those who still oppose the amendment place themselves in the position which they once charged against the suffragists—that is, the imposition of the will of a very small minority upon a very large majority.

Notes of the Week

Working Womanhood Leads the Way

NEWEPAPERS and periodicals are commenting upon the work of the Women's Trade Union League in its Philadelphia meeting, and upon the oratory of the British delegate, Miss Margaret Bondfield. Miss Bondfield is speaking before large groups in other sections of the country upon problems vital to women and which are essentially for women to solve.

Concerning the Philadelphia meeting the "Young Democracy" says:

"The temper of impending victory and the whole-souled determination to devote every ounce of their energy as workingwomen toward the birth of the new world era was manifested at every session of the seventh biennial convention of the Women's Trade Union League. . . . They are no mere idealists, these pioneers in the organized working women unions of England and America. They are practiced industrial executives of the finest sort, trained in the wiles of the machine school, but still retaining a soft gentleness that made their firm demands the more impressive. . . . 'Enter into politics to achieve our ends,' demanded speaker after speaker at the women's meeting. 'It is the only way in which 4,000,000 women allied with us can find expression for their hopes. And, if the men will not join us, let us fight without the men.'"

For First Time Woman Heads British Trades Union

AT the last annual meeting of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks of England, a woman, for the first time since the formation of the union 28 years ago, was elected President of the Union. Miss Mabel Talbott, the new President, is a draper's assistant, who has worked her way up through the various offices of the Union, since she joined in 1905. She was an advocate of woman suffrage at that time, and her activities in that direction stimulated her work for the recognition of women in the trades. At present, she is engaged in organizing the sweated workers in the needlework trade, and making a strong effort to abolish piece rates.

French Mayoresses

MANY women have served as Mayors in the occupied districts of France, in place of Mayors who were led away to captivity in Germany. The justice, judgment, and courage of these women have received frequent commendation. Many were clerks or secretaries in the mayor's office before the war and so started with a knowledge of the work.

Imprisonment of the Countess Markievicz

THE following cablegram was sent to the National Woman's Party by Mr. Frank P. Walsh, of the committee of three Americans representing Irish societies in this country, who recently visited Ireland:

"Countess Markievicz in Ireland imprisoned again over alleged seditious utterances. She is only woman member of Irish Republican Parliament. Evidence strongly indicates that she was arrested because of information in her possession of atrocities practiced on women political prisoners in English and Irish jails. She is an intellectual woman of high spirit and dauntless courage but continued confinement may shortly end her life. Please get women in America to make strong demand for her immediate release. Unless this is done further arrests of women will doubtless follow."

Woman's Progress International

ACCORDING to "The Common Cause," the organ of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Associations of Great Britain, some very interesting meetings were organized in London during the latter part of June by the International Council of Women. "The meetings," it is said, "were not primarily suffrage meetings, but the achievement of the political franchise is so much the most interesting thing that is happening to women at the moment, that the delegates present did, rightly and inevitably, spend a great deal of their time talking about it.

"This was especially the case when the subject was the laws affecting women in the countries represented on the International Council. Miss Van Dorp, a woman jurist from the Netherlands, who opened the discussion, said that the endeavor to get the laws altered so as to improve the civil position of women was in her country, as in others, bound up with the struggle for votes. When suffragists had pointed to the laws affecting women as an argument for the suffrage, they had been told that they could get all they wanted from the good-nature of men, but in spite of the good-nature of men, the laws had remained bad, and it was only now, when enfranchisement was practically won, that there was a hope of changing them. Mrs. Fawcett described how the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, formerly a pronounced anti-feminist, had, since the passing of the Representation of the People Act, discovered that he was a supporter of women as magistrates. Miss Forchammer told that nine women members were returned to the first Danish Parliament after the suffrage and eligibility bill had been passed. This Parliament is now discussing a Bill for the complete emancipation of women; if it passes they will have equal opportunities in every sphere of national life, including the Church. Reforms in the marriage and guardianship laws, are also being discussed. In Italy, it was pointed out, the demand for woman suffrage had itself been enough to produce a change. . . . Serbia will probably be one of the first Eastern European countries to pass a constitutional woman's suffrage measure.

"Passing from the Near East to the Far East, we see the women of Japan beginning to work for freedom. A Japanese delegate, Madam Adena, spoke at the International Council's meeting and told how the breaking down of Japanese feudalism had immediately resulted in the spread of schooling for girls as well as boys. Girls, she said, were already becoming teachers, secretaries, typists, and craftswomen.

"If ever there was an International Movement, it is the Women's Movement."

Prizes Offered Women Writers

TWO French newspapers, "Femina" and "La Vie Heureuse," are offering a prize of 1,000 francs for the best recent English work of imagination by an English woman writer, to be translated into French and published in France. Since 1905 the latter paper has alloted a similar prize for the best novel of the year written by a French woman, as a protest against the exclusion of women from the annual prize given by the Goncourt Academy.

Women and the League of Nations

ENGLISH men are demanding women be elected to the Councils of the League of Nations. "The Vote," the organ of the Woman's Freedom League of Great Britain, in its issue of June 13, reports a resolution passed by the Northern Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage, which reads as follows:

"That this meeting of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage calls upon the promoters of the British Section of the League of Nations to elect women in equitable numbers with men on its National Committee and Councils:

"It affirms: (a) That no nation can be adequately represented at the Councils of the International League which does not send its women to represent their own sex. (b) That women being free from the vested interests that have animated, and may animate the actions of male politicians to the detriment of the Peoples, women's influence at the Councils will prove a safeguard to the future peace and prosperity of the whole world.

"This meeting, therefore, demands that the British Section of the League shall give a lead to the nations in this matter and make the inclusion of women at the International Councils an integral part of its program."

Anna Howard Shaw

THE death of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw at her home in Moylan Pennsylvania, on July 2, brought to a close the life of a valiant crusader. But it did not end and it could not end the everlasting good which she gave forth to the world. Her spirit has been the inspiration of more lives than she ever touched, her deeds have been a benefaction to generations yet unborn—for she was one who broke the chains that bound her sex, chains that have been thrown aside forever.

Her contribution to the liberation of womanhood was immeasurable. One has but to call to mind the thousands of immense audiences, massed into the distance until their faces became mere spots before the eyes, hanging upon her every word, thrilled in the very depths of their souls by the power of her message, to realize that her service to the world was that rare and beautiful service that fans "the divine spark" into a living flame.

Anna Howard Shaw

She was a co-worker with Susan B. Anthony, and the greater part of her long life was devoted to the cause. In the early days she withstood the difficulties, hardships, and persecutions that are always the lot of those who work against prejudice and misunderstanding. She lived to see the practical accomplishment of her purpose, which was that women might find themselves.

Suffrage was not the only work that claimed her, but it was so much the greatest part of her life that it is as a suffragist that she will be remembered. She was a lover of Liberty, not for women alone, but for them equally, and as long as an inequality existed, she could but translate her love for Liberty into service for their emancipation.

She was beloved by all suffragists, and honored by all people. Women who have not yet fully understood her and who have worked against her and those who have understood and who have worked with her, will all call her blessed in the light of the new freedom which she helped to win for all of them.

SHE was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in England, in 1847, coming to America at the age of four with her parents. Until 1859 she lived in Massachusetts, when her family migrated to Michigan. There in a little log cabin in the wilderness she spent her young girlhood, enduring the many hardships that attended life on what was then the frontier of America. In her "Story of a Pioneer" she tells of her struggle for an education. At fifteen she began teaching school, "boarding round" with the families of her pupils, staying two weeks in each place, and often walking from three to six miles a day to the little log school-house—and receiving two dollars a week and her board.

Her aspirations led her into the ministry and she preached her first sermon at Ashton. This was contrary to all conventions and a storm broke about her head. The first newspaper notice ever taken of her appeared the next morning. It said: "A young girl named Anna Shaw, seventeen years old, preached at Ashton yesterday. Her real friends deprecate the course she is pursuing." Her family called her into solemn council and offered to send her to college if she would give up her preaching. Of this meeting, "The Story of a Pioneer" says: "We had a long evening together, and it was a very unhappy one. At the end of it, I was given twenty-four hours in which to decide whether I would choose my people and college, or my pulpit and the arctic loneliness of a life that held no family circle. It did not require twenty-four hours of reflection to convince me that I must go my solitary way . . . Two friends alone of all I had made stood by me without qualification."

In 1873 she entered Albion College, lecturing on temperance and preaching throughout the two years of her study there. In February, 1876, she entered the theological school of the University of Boston, and there began a struggle for existence against actual poverty and privations.

It was in 1885 that she resigned from the two churches which she had served for seven years, and entered the suffrage movement. This meant a radical change for her—it meant, apparently, a great sacrifice. But the "great cause" appealed to her, and she made it hers. Describing this period of her life, she said:

"For the first time women were going into industrial competition with men, and already men were intensely resenting their presence. Around me I saw women overworked and underpaid, doing men's work at half men's wages, not because their work was inferior, but because they were women. Again, too, I studied the obtrusive problems of the poor and of the women of the streets; and, looking at the whole social situation from every angle, I could find but one solution for women—the removal of the sigma of disfranchisement. As man's equal before the law, woman could demand her rights, asking favors from no one. With all my heart I joined in the crusade of the men and women who were fighting for her. My real work had begun."

In her suffrage work she labored beside such pioneers as Frances E. Willard, Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Rachel Foster Avery, Florence Kelly, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Harriet Taylor Upton and Susan B. Anthony. She had lectured for the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association of which Lucy Stone was President during the last two years of her pastorate, and later Frances E. Willard persuaded her to take charge of the Franchise Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. From 1888 she worked with Susan B. Anthony and the two were rarely separated until the death of Miss Anthony in 1906.

During these eighteen years, the states of Colorado, Utah and Idaho were won for suffrage, making a total of four, Wyoming having entered the Union as a suffrage state in 1869. Throughout the campaigns in these states, and in others, Dr. Shaw and Miss Anthony worked unceasingly, making long hard trips into the interior, when travel was more difficult than it is now, working day and night, organizing their own meetings, encountering every kind of obstacle cheerfully and facing misunderstanding and ridicule. All of these campaigns were carried on by voluntary contributions raised by the workers.

After the death of Susan B. Anthony, the work was carried on by Dr. Shaw. The movement had grown until there were hundreds of workers where before there had been only one, but Doctor Shaw, after the death of Miss Anthony, was recognized as one of the chief sources of inspiration. She had the gift of rare eloquence that reached men's souls. She felt deeply the responsibility of carrying on the

work, not only because of her own love for it, but because Miss Anthony had desired it. Miss Anthony's last word to her was:

"If there is a continuance of life beyond, and if I have any conscious knowledge of this world and of what you are doing, I shall not be far away from you; and in times of need I will help you all I can. Who knows? Perhaps I may be able to do more for the Cause after I am gone than while I am here."

It was in the first days of Doctor Shaw's association with Susan B. Anthony that the two great suffrage organizations of that time were brought together. The American Association of which Lucy Stone was the President, and the National Association headed by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, were united as the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which name it has borne for thirty years. Mrs. Stanton was the first president of the new organization. Later Miss Anthony became the President.

Upon the resignation of Miss Anthony in 1900, six years before her death, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was chosen as her successor. In 1904, Mrs. Catt was succeeded by Dr. Shaw as President of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, which position she held for ten years, during a period of most important constructive work. During these ten years seven more states, Washington, California, Kansas, Arizona, Oregon, Montana and Nevada, were brought into the suffrage column, and the demand for an amendment to the United States Constitution had taken definite form. Since her retirement from the presidency of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association she has been its Honorary President, and never ceased to be a moving spirit in its councils.

UPON the formation of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, soon after the entrance of the United States in the Great War, Doctor Shaw was called to Washington by the Government to head this work. To her and the women whom she brought to the task fell the responsibility of mobilizing the women of America for voluntary service to their country in a world crisis. The task was gigantic, and most difficult in many ways, and its success was due to the resourcefulness, the patriotism, the sacrifices, and the ability of Dr. Shaw and her colleagues, and the women whom they gathered about them in every state. In recognition of her war work, she was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal on May 12, 1919. But what meant more to her, and more to the women to whose cause she had devoted the greater part of her life, was the suffrage pin, the American Flag with the diamond stars for the suffrage states which was the emblem of her heritage of faith from the great woman who preceded her and whom she knew as "Aunt Susan."

The Ratification Campaign

THE campaign for ratification, in its four general phases, is well under way in all sections of the country. These four phases consist of demands upon Governors for special sessions of Legislatures, canvasses of members of the legislatures, "Woman's Liberty Drives" for funds in states that have already ratified, and work with legislatures that are in session.

TWO southern legislatures are now in session and the question of ratification is before both of them. They are Georgia and Alabama. Both of them are Democratic legislatures.

In Alabama the campaign of the Woman's Party is under the direction of Miss Sue White and Miss Betty Gram, who have opened headguarters in Montgomery.

The National Woman's Party is leading the campaign among the suffragists of Georgia. Miss Mabel Vernon, a National Organizer of the Woman's Party, has been on the ground at intervals for a month, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, a member of the National Executive Committee, joins her this week. They will conduct an active lobby of the legislature. There was an effort made to defeat the measure this week, by the introduction of a resolution, upon the part of the opposition, with the expectation of rushing it to an unfavorable vote. This has been prevented for the present, and the resolution is still before the legislature.

MRS. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party, has just returned from Rhode Island where she inaugurated a campaign in that state. She headed a delegation of Rhode Island women to interview Governor Beeckman on June 26, who told them that he would take the matter up with Republican leaders at a conference that afternoon and that the decision would rest with the committee. This conference voted not to recommend a special session. On the other hand, there continues to be a strong demand for a special session and Governor Beeckman has said that he would hold "an open mind" on the subject. The Executive Committee of the Democratic State Central Committee passed a resolution urging a special session "at the earliest possible date" for action on the suffrage amendment. The movement for a special session is supported by Senator Gerry, (Democrat) who issued a public statement favoring the session. The Providence Journal has sent the Governor a formal offer, in writing, to defray the entire expense of such a session. A majority of the Republican members of the Legislature favor the proposition, and the Democratic members are unanimous for it. The Gerry Club of Providence, called a special meeting to adopt a resolution expressing their support, and a similar resolution was passed by the Newport Machinists Union. A poll that has been taken by the Providence News showed that twenty-eight members of the legislature favored the special session, twenty-five were either not opposed or indifferent, but willing to attend; only eleven were opposed, and two refused to answer. Both the Republican and the Democratic Leaders of the Senate—Senator Joseph T. Gorton of Pawtucket, and Senator Daniel E. Gerry, of Providence, favor the session.

Mrs. Baker spent several days in Rhode Island, interviewing political leaders, members of the Legislature, and conferring with local suffragists.

AN active campaign is being conducted by the Maryland Branch for a special session in that state, and a canvass of the members of the Legislature has been made. The canvass shows that ratification is sure if Governor Harrington will act upon the proposition of a special session. Mrs. Donald Hooker state chairman, is directing the campaign, and the Maryland branch has engaged two organizers, Miss Mary Dubrow and Miss Julia Emory, to visit every section of the state, interviewing members of the Legislature and leaders of both political parties.

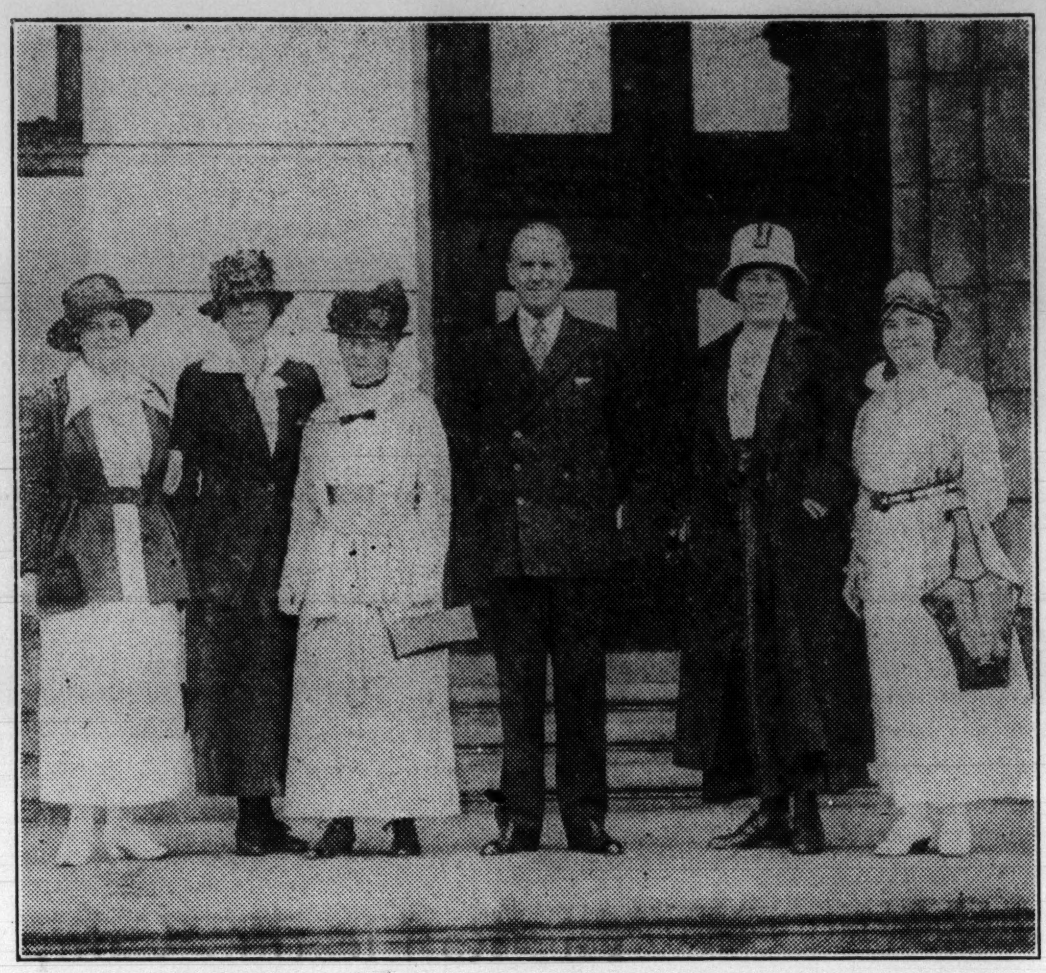
A THOUSAND dollars was pledged by Wisconsin at a luncheon held in Milwaukee on July 3. This money was given to help further the general ratification campaign, as Wisconsin was the first state to ratify. A successful conference was held in Milwaukee and a state board, headed by Mrs. Frank Putnam as Chairman, was formed which will continue to keep interest for ratification alive in that state until the necessary 36 states have taken action. Miss Ada James, who has acted as state chairman in Wisconsin ever

since the state branch was formed in 1916, will continue her invaluable service to the campaign by joining the Advisory Council. Mrs. W. D. Ascough, of Detroit, member of the National Advisory Council, attended the Milwaukee conference and was the speaker at a series of meetings held during the National Education Association Convention.

MISS Mary Winsor, a national representative of the Woman's Party, after a successful tour of Texas and New Mexico, visited New Orleans and other Louisiana points. She held two open-air meetings in New Orleans; the first one being on Canal Street, and on the following day spoke in Lafayette Square—the latter meeting lasting from five o'clock in the afternoon until nine, and resulting in a resolution, which was telegraphed to Governor Pleasant, demanding an extra session of the Louisiana Legislature for the purpose of ratification. The meeting was in charge of Mrs. E. J. Graham, State Chairman; Mrs. Rosella S. Bahi, Mrs. A. M. Cosu, Mrs. C. A. Meissner, and other local suffragists, officers and members of the Woman's Party. A luncheon at the Elks Club was tendered Miss Winsor by the Louisiana Branch, followed by a conference of state suffrage workers. Pledges for the ratification campaign fund were made at this luncheon.

From New Orleans, Miss Winsor visited Gretna where she spoke at Crockett's hall, at a meeting presided over by Miss Grace Drumm, Chairman of the Second Congressional District. Members of the New Orleans Branch accompanied her to Gretna and assisted in the conduct of the meeting there.

A CANVASS of the members of the Virginia Legislature, which convenes in special session on August 13, is being made by Miss Anita Pollitzer, national organizer, under the direction of Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, State Chairman. A special session has been called by the Governor for the Legislature to meet on August 13 for the consideration of other matters, and it is hoped that favorable action on the suffrage amendment may be secured at that time.



Deputation of Suffragists to Governor Beeckman, of Rhode Island, to Ask for Special Session
Left to Right—Miss Mabel E. Orgelman, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Miss Mary Anthony, the Governor, Mrs. James W. Algeo, and Mrs. Jerome M. Fittz.

GOVERNOR Shoup, of Colorado, although he has promised a special session, has not definitely set the date, and efforts are being made to secure prompt action so that Colorado may be among the earlier states to ratify. This work is in charge of the Colorado Branch of which Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, of Colorado Springs, is Chairman.

Iowa and Missouri in Ratification Column

ON July 2, the Legislature of Iowa ratified the suffrage amendment. The vote in the Senate was unanimous, and a few minutes later the House took action with a vote of 95 to 5. The ratification was completed shortly after noon, the entire session lasting only two hours.

Matched against Iowa in the ratification race, and running a close second, was Missouri, whose Legislature met on the same day and took action in the House by a vote of 125 to 4. It did not complete its work, however, until the following day, when the Senate passed the resolution by a vote of 28 to 3. Owing to the death of Senator Wix, action in the Senate was delayed. Otherwise, it probably would have been a matter of only a few hours in the case of Missouri, also.

Mrs. H. R. Walmsley, of Kansas City, representing the National Woman's Party, was on the ground at the time of the Missouri ratification. The Secretary of State and President of the Senate rendered her valuable assistance, and although ratification was assured in that state from the time the Governor called the special session, the large majority polled for the resolution in both houses is indeed gratifying, and evidences a great gain in suffrage sentiment. Governor Frederick D. Gardner used two pens in signing the bill, one of which he presented to Mrs. Walmsley, as the National Woman's Party's representative, together with a signed tribute to women. The pen and Governor Gardner's tribute have been placed in the archives of the party at Washington.

Missouri had a solid delegation for the amendment in the national House of Representatives, but Senator Reed was its bitterest opponent in the Senate, while his Republican colleague, Spencer, gave it his support.

The Iowa Congressional delegation was ten to one in favor, the exception being Representative Hull. Both Senators Cummins and Kenyon gave it hearty support, the former being in the chair at the time it passed the Senate.

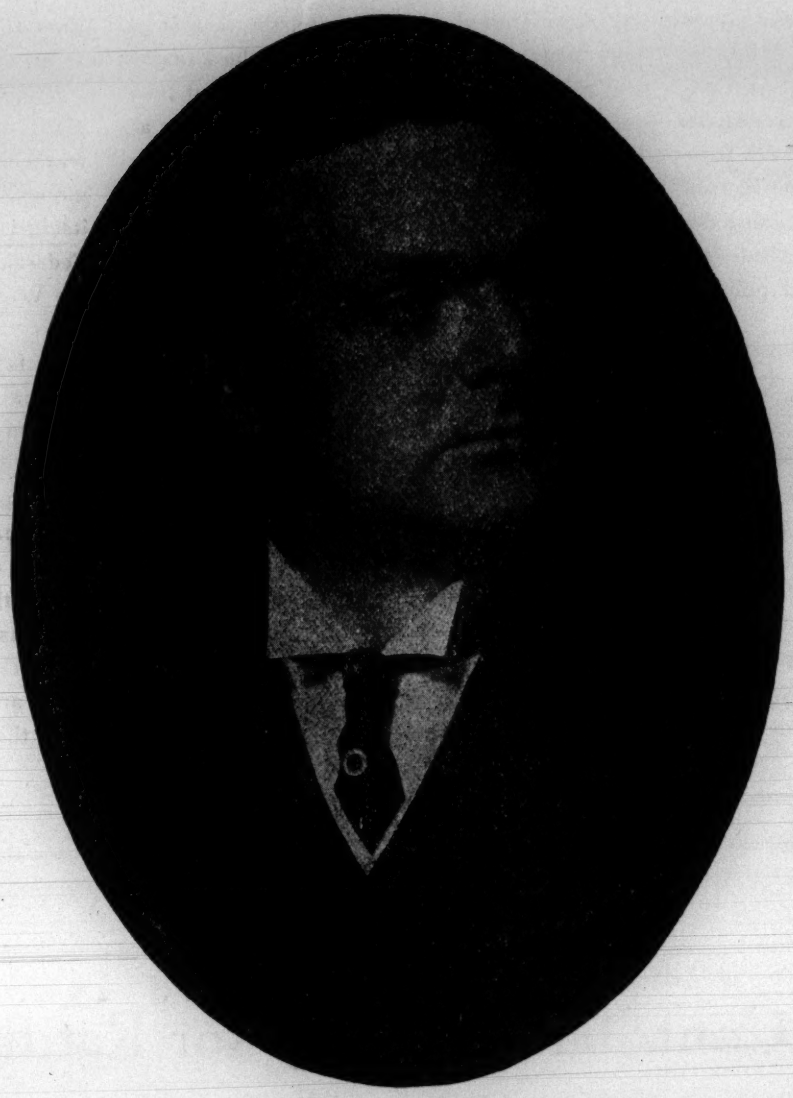
Both Missouri and Iowa have granted presidential suffrage since the first of this year.

These two states make a total of eleven that have ratified since the United States Senate passed the amendment on June 4.

Some Men Who Helped

PEOPLE familiar with the history of the suffrage movement in America know that from the pioneer days there were men whose sense of justice and true chivalry responded to the spectacle presented by disfranchised woman struggling to free herself. Among the earlier "big brothers" of the cause stood such men as William Lloyd Garrison, John Stuart Mill, and Henry Blackwell.

Others have been raised up in these latter days, and they have helped in various ways. Some have spoken for the cause from the lecture platform or from the "stump"; others have used the weapon mightier than the sword, others have entered into conferences with political leaders and by the strength of their persuasion or the strategy of their positions have secured support where needed, others have given money to the campaign fund, and in many other ways there have been men to take positive action in behalf of the cause.



DUDLEY FIELD MALONE

MOST splendid and self sacrificing service was that rendered by Dudley Field Malone who, it will be remembered, resigned his position as Collector of the Port of New York in protest against the delay in the Sixty-fifth Congress, and the imprisonment of the suffrage pickets by the Administration of which he was a member. In his letter of resignation he said: "I think it is high time that men in this generation, at some cost to themselves, stand up to battle for the national enfranchisement of American women." His resignation came as a climax to numerous efforts upon his part to secure action in accordance with the promises that had been made by the Democratic Party to the women of the West where he had campaigned for the Democratic Party in 1916. In thus severing his political ties and sacrificing a highly-paid office, he very definitely pointed out the responsibility of party leaders who had sent him to campaign among the western women voters and to promise them that he would spend all of his energy, at any sacrifice to himself, to secure the passage of the amendment during that administration. His action showed the great sacrifice he was willing to make, to keep his promise. Since his resignation he has let pass no opportunity to help. He has con ducted trials, as counsel in the habeas corpus proceedings and in the damage suits brought by suffragists against officials of the District of Columbia. He has given days and days to long trips to make speeches in various parts of the country, and he has contributed liberally to campaign funds. He made a gallant and brilliant fight under circumstances which made it a great sacrifice to himself and suffragists will never cease to honor him for the stand he held in their behalf.

COLONEL Theodore Roosevelt was most helpful from the time he first declared himself as favoring the federal suffrage amendment. It was largely through his influence that the woman suffrage plank was placed in the Progressive Platform in 1912, four years before either the Republican or Democratic National Conventions took similar action. He was always ready to give his assistance in talking to win them to suffrage, and up to his death was actively interesting himself in the Senate situation and endeavoring to secure another Republican vote in the Sixty-fifth Congress, which would have been sufficient to pass the amendment in time to be submitted to the forty legislatures in session in the early part of this year.

MR. Gilson Gardner, Washington Manager of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, has kept in constant touch with the Washington situation. Throughout the exciting times of the picketing and arrests, watch fires and arrests, he was the staunch defender of the suffragists, encouraging and comforting them always with the prediction that they would win because they were right. He has written numerous articles over his signature pointing out the injustice and the stupidity of persecuting them, and also mincing no words in speaking of the responsibility for the arrests. From the very first he recognized the political significance of the effort to stop the suffrage agitation in Washington, and likewise the political significance of placing where it belonged the responsibility for the methods employed in that effort to break it up.

THE assistance of Judge Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, has been peculiarly effective. He has made a special study of the suffrage amendment as applied to the southern states, and has issued several pamphlets and made numerous speeches upon the general subject and particularly the Southern phase of it. He speaks with authority, as a Southerner understanding conditions there, and from a long experience in the study of public questions. His influence toward breaking down the prejudices of the South has been invaluable.

MR. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, formerly member of the National Executive Committee of the Progressive Party and later member of the national Democratic Campaign Committee, has also made a valiant fight for the federal amendment. Throughout the "War Congress" he made repeated efforts to advance the measure, urging President Wilson at that time to include it in his legislative program. He headed a committee of Progressive leaders in May, 1917, who conferred with the President to urge his support of the suffrage amendment, and in July he vigorously protested to the President, after the arrest of a group of sixteen pickets, Mr. Hopkins, in an open letter to Chairman Webb, of the House Judiciary Committee, which then had the suffrage amendment under consideration, described this interview, and put before the Judiciary Committee and the public the reasons that then existed for prompt action. Although he was unsuccessful in securing action on the amendment, the morning following his interview with the

President, the group of sixteen suffrage pickets then in the work house were unconditionally pardoned by President Wilson.

ANOTHER Progressive who has rendered signal service is Mr. Matthew Hale, formerly Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Progressive Party, later member of the Progressive group that joined the Democratic National Campaign Committee in 1916. Mr. Hale has been of great aid by using his position as one of the recognized political leaders of the country, to obtain needed political support for the amendment.

DR. Donald Hooker, of Baltimore, has been a constant contributor, having given several thousand dollars during the course of the campaign in Washington, besides his contributions of thousands to the Maryland Branch of the Woman's Party of which Mrs. Hooker is President.

The largest single contribution ever made to the work was one by Col. and Mrs. William B. Thompson, of New York, when they donated ten thousand dollars in honor of the suffrage prisoners.

Mr. William Randolph Hearst also has contributed to the cause, and through the Hearst papers has helped in various ways. In the fall of 1918, when the amendment was being held up in the United States Senate, the Hearst papers made a special effort to help the situation and as part of their campaign circulated thousands of petitions in every state, calling for action by the Senate.

Throughout the entire campaign, Mr. John E. Milholland, of New York, has been a constant visitor to headquarters, giving not only money, but encouragement and aid in interviewing political leaders. As the father of Inez Milholland, he shared her interest in the cause. He has given to it unselfishly, and he bore witness to what she gave.

Mr. Huntley Spaulding, of New Hampshire, is the head of a committee of men in that state, who are now working earnestly and diligently for ratification. He has also contributed very generously to the expenses of the campaign.

As an evidence of the helpful interest manifested by Mr. R. J. Caldwell, of New York, in his letter of congratulation over the passage of the amendment he enclosed a check for $500. He has on numerous occasions shown his sincere desire to help and has contributed more than a thousand to the cost of the campaign.

Another friend and contributor of several thousand dollars is General T. Coleman du Pont, of Delaware.

One who has believed in the "federal amendment route" from the first, and who has always been willing to help by speeches, letters, money, or in whatever other way presented itself, is Mr. Frank P. Walsh, formerly of the Federal Industrial Relations Committee and the War Labor Board.

IN fact, the men who have helped are too numerous to mention. They represent many classes, many professions, and have helped in many ways. There are editors of newspapers in all sections of the country whose names may not be familiar to suffragists outside of their own communities, in connection with what they have contributed to the cause, as few editors sign what they write, but without them, victory would have been impossible, and to the pro-suffrage editors as a class, the women of America are deeply grateful.

Ohio Contributes Money for Ratification by Other States

SUCCESSFUL meetings at which Miss Alice Paul was the speaker have been held in Ohio cities since ratification there, in the interest of campaign funds for work in other states, and a total of $2,500 raised for the national ratification campaign. in Ohio during the last few days. In her meetings Miss Paul was accompanied by Mrs. Valentine Winters, State Chairman of the Ohio Branch, who has been one of the most generous contributors to the campaign of the National Woman's Party. Mrs. Winters was one of the first women in the state to turn away from the state method and work for federal suffrage with the National Woman's Party as its state chairman. She lobbied for the resolution in the Ohio Legislature, calling upon the United States Senate to pass the amendment, and also helped in the National Campaign. She contributed to the tour of the Prison Special by paying the expenses of one of the party. Last year Mrs. Winters contributed half of her income to the Woman's Party campaign and this year has contributed over a thousand dollars.

AMONG able and loyal workers in Columbus who helped to make the visit of Miss Paul to that city a success are Mrs. Carl Hasbrouck, Chairman of the Columbus Branch; Dr. Gillette Hayden, State Legislative Chairman; Mrs. James Rector, Member of the National Advisory Council. A luncheon was given at the Deshler Hotel, when Mrs. Winters presided and Mrs. Rector and Miss Paul spoke. This was followed by a meeting at the Coliseum before representatives of the Methodist Church, from all parts of the country, who were attending the Centenary Exposition. Mrs. Winters, Mrs. Rector and Miss Paul spoke at this meeting.

IN Dayton Miss Paul was the guest of Mrs. Winters and Mr. James Patterson. She was entertained at a dinner given at the Dayton Club by Mrs. Winters, followed by a meeting at Community Hall. A high compliment was paid Miss Paul while in Dayton by the National Cash Register Co., who invited her to visit their plant. The flags were raised in her honor ,and throughout the factory were placards decorated with American flags, saying:

"The flags are raised today in honor of the visit to the factory of Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the National Woman's Party. She is a tireless worker for the cause of woman, and to her is due a great deal of credit for getting the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress."

AT Cincinnati an afternoon meeting was held at the Sinton Hotel, presided over by Mrs. G. B. Twichell, Congressional District Chairman. This meeting was addressed by both Mrs. Winters and Miss Paul, and was organized by Mrs. Twichell, Mrs. Mary Brite, and Mrs. Howard Boyle. The next point in Ohio visited by Miss Paul was Cleveland, where she and Mrs. Winters held a conference with Mrs. Elisabeth Fry, Congressional District Chairman, and other local women and made plans for the raising of funds in that city.

Among those who contributed most generously to the ratification fund were Mr. R. F. Wolfe, owner of the two largest papers in Columbus; Mr. Patterson, head of the National Cash Register Company, and Mrs. Winters.

Comments of the Press

Ratification

WITH the passage by the Senate of the resolution proposing the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to the Constitution, the 40 years' fight for universal suffrage is brought to an end, so far as Congress is concerned. The final decision now rests with the states, and it is confidently predicted that the legislatures of the necessary three-fourths of the states will ratify the amendment within a comparatively short time. It has come to be generally conceded that woman suffrage is assured, and nothing now seems lacking but the formality of ratification.

It scarcely seems probable that ratification of the amendment will be secured in time to permit of universal suffrage at the presidential election next year, although that is possible. The legislatures of four states—Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—are now in session, and the suffragists propose to concentrate their efforts upon them immediately with a view to securing ratification before they adjourn. In four other states regular or special meetings of the legislatures are scheduled to be held this month and next and several others are to meet in 1920.

But the suffrage workers do not intend to wait for the regular sessions of state legislatures. Their plan is to ask for special sessions and to obtain final adoption of the amendment before the November election of 1920, so that women voters may take part in the choice of the next President. Already fifteen states have full suffrage for women ,twelve others have limited woman suffrage, while two others permit women to vote at primaries. With this advantage at the beginning, the suffragist leaders feel that final ratification may be expected with very little delay.—Washington Post, June 6, 1919.

The Women's Fight and the Women's Victory

IN our own day there are two men—one in England and one in the United States—who have both made sacrifices of an extraordinary kind for woman suffrage. These are Dudley Field Malone, who gave up his lucrative post as collector of the port of New York because he thought that his party and its leader had not kept faith with the women and who has done his utmost by speaking and agitating for the federal amendment to help the cause; and George Lansbury, who was elected to Parliament as a member of the Independent Labor Party in 1910, and who resigned his seat as a protest against the treatment of the women militants who were being persecuted and imprisoned by the Government for their insistence on their right to the vote.

All honor to both these men. Neither Americans nor Englishmen will ever forget their services and their sacrifices.—Annie G. Porritt, in the Maryland Suffrage News, June 28, 1919.

Ratify the Amendment

THERE remains but one more obstacle in the way of complete participation of women in the government under which they live. That is the prompt ratification of the constitutional amendment which is now submitted by action of congress to the respective states. That ratification will speedily be accomplished admits of little doubt,. Already some state executives, whose legislatures are still in session, have sent in special messages urging prompt ratification of the amendment. In Wisconsin, the legislature has announced that it only awaits official submission of the amendment from the Washington officials before ratification is taken up and passed. Numerous other states are eager to have the honor of being among the first to remove the last restriction on women exercising the full franchise.

The Union is keen that our own state of New Hampshire be among these early states. The governor is himself a supporter of suffrage and keenly sympathizes with the aspirations of New Hampshire women for a voice and vote in their government. During the recent session it was shown that a clear majority of all of the members of the legislature, taking both houses as a single unit, favored woman suffrage. The adoption by both house and senate of the suffrage amendment at Washington, by more than the two-thirds vote required, will no doubt give to the subject a new aspect for those members of our state senate who hesitated to support the proposals last winter. We have not the least doubt that the legislature, if convened in special session, under existing circumstances, would pass the necessary ratification bill.

Looking at this thing from a strictly selfish, partisan angle, it appears to us incontestable that good politics demand that the Republican states shall carry through to completion the work which was done for equal suffrage by Republican majorities in both houses at Washington. The Democratic party, in power in Washington for the past eight years, during which the sentiment for suffrage has had its phenomenal growth, steadily and repeatedly refused to give to American women the right which a Republican congress accomplished as its first official act after regaining control of the legislative machinery. Very properly the Republican party, by this wise and just action, has won a partisan advantage which the Democrats threw away, because the reactionary element in that party, principally from the South, were able to dominate its councils. If the Republican party is to reap the full reward for its prompt and righteous support of the suffrage movement, every party energy must now be centered on the task of securing ratification in every state where the party is in control.—Manchester, (N. H.) Union, June 7, 1919.

Suffrage Marches On

ONE by one the state legislatures of the country are acting upon the woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution, and they are ratifying it with unanimity similar to that which characterized their action a few months ago when the prohibition amendment was before them.

To date eight legislatures have ratified the amendment, the last being that of rock-ribbed, standpat-republican Pennsylvania, which went on record in favor of woman suffrage by a vote of 153 to 44 in the House and 31 to 6 in the Senate.

Texas will be the next, the lower house of its legislature having voted 96 to 21 to ratify the amendment, and similar action by the senate is assured.

The legislatures that have thus far acted upon the suffrage amendment question have done so with a minimum of debate. Little is

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needed, for the fundamental principle of justice and democracy involved is so clearly in its favor that no argument of a convincing nature can be advanced against it.

The arguments on both sides of the suffrage question are familiar to every thinking and enlightened citizen of the country, for the issue has been constantly before the American public for more than half a century.

Like all great developments in national progress, that of the recognition of the citizenship rights of women has been gradual. It has been remarkably free from hysteria or impetous action; but by a constant, well modulated process of growth the appeal of its champions has found lodgment in the conscience of the people until at last a tide of public sentiment has accumulated in its favor, so preponderous that it is futile for the small reactionary element opposed to the movement to attempt to hold it back.

It is now Georgia's turn, and the suffrage amendment will be presented to the membership of the general assembly, for its ratification or rejection, either at this or the next summer session.

Woman suffrage is coming regardless of what any one state can do to prevent it, and there is nothing to be gained by opposing it.

Georgia might as well get on the "band wagon"—for the procession is passing.—Atlanta(Ga.) Constitution, June 26, 1919.

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Good Politics

PERSONS familiar with the Pennsylvania Legislature will want official and corroborative evidence before believing that it has formally ratified the suffrage amendment to the National Constitution, but it is a fact just the same. The Senate some days ago; the House yesterday approved the resolution and Pennsylvania takes its place as the seventh in the proud procession of states which have thus far taken favorable action.

Ratification was a perfectly proper and just action for the Legislature to take. Not to have done so would have been stupid. To do so was both good politics and exact justice. Success of the amendment throughout the nation is inevitable and Pennsylvania could never have recovered the ground lost by failure to act at this session.

To the women who have struggled so enthusiastically for years for this great accomplishment goes a great deal of credit. Without them and their ceaseless effort to bring the matter to public attention, ratification would have been impossible. Pennsylvania women await only the early action of the remaining states to enjoy the electoral privilege.—Harrisburg ((Penna.) Patriot, June 25, 1919.

Ratify the Suffrage Amendment

THERE are many Republicans who are keen to take full advantage of the fact that it was only when their party was in control of Congress that the amendment got through and was sent to the states. The millions of the already enfranchised women voters are very much alive to the political aspects of the question as it is now presented to the states still without the equal-suffrage ranks. They know what the ultimate triumph of their cause is only a matter of time, but they would be less than human did they not feel resentment at the party or the politicians who merely for the sake of delay persist in blocking the final act of justice to the women.

As the matter stands at present, while the suffrage votes in Congress were not strictly on party lines and while the national platform of both parties contained pledges in favor of the amendment, the balance tends distinctly toward the Republican side when credit is apportioned for the final passage of the amendment resolution. If for no other reason, the politician who refused to read the writing on the wall and who persists in an attitude of blind opposition is, to say the least, extremely short-sighed.

But it is to be hoped that Pennsylvania's action on the question will be based on a higher ground than mere political foresight and expediency. State pride would dictate prompt action that in this great forward step toward complete democracy the Keystone State shall lead and not follow. The issue has long since passed the point where it is debatable on any ground of logic or of justice. This country as a whole, instead of leading the democracies of the world in making all its citizens equal in their rights and duties, is still behindhand. Our backwardness in this respect can be redeemed in a measure by the promptness and spontaneity with which the states, with Pennsylvania among the first, remove the anomaly by which millions of their women are still deprived of a voice in their own government while required to make every sacrifice for its defense and for its maintenance.—Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 16, 1919.

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